

TEMPLES OF BHUBANESWAR

DURING the course of two centuries a lot has been written by eminent scholars like A. Stirling, J. Fergusson, W. W. Hunter, Rajendralal Mitra, Manamohana Chakravarti, Manamohana Ganguli, R. P. Chanda, Pery Brown, A. K. Coomarswamy, P. Acharya, D. C. Sircar, K. C. Panigrahi, Debala Mitra and others about the dates of temples from different angles of view. A new attempt has been made in this paper to fix the dates of temples by taking into consideration the initial year of the Bhauma Era, information furnished by some epigraphic records of the Bhauma, Somavamāṣī, Gaṅga and Sūryavamāṣī periods, certain aspects of temple architecture, and calculation of Astronomical data of a few epigraphic records.

Initial year of the Bhauma Era

The initial year of the Bhauma Era fixed as 736 A.D. by S. N. Rajaguru¹ has generally been accepted by scholars. But in my humble opinion, the theory of Rajaguru seems untenable on close examination of the chronology of the Bhauma Kara and Somavamāṣī kings as it leaves barely a period of fifty years. (c. 950—1000 A.D.) for the earlier branch of the Somavamāṣī kings, the latest data in the Bhauma Era² so far found being 213, which, when calculated in the light of his theory corresponds to $736 + 213 = 949$ A.D. The latest definite date in the copperplate grants of Janamejaya I³, Yayāti I⁴, Bhīmaratha⁵, and Dharmaratha⁶ being 34, 28, 3 and 11 years respectively, the total comes to 76 years.

If Śrī Mahābhavagupta, son of Śrī Mahāśivagupta of the Kudopali plates⁷ is taken as identical with Bhīmaratha, he should be given at least 13 years for his reign. This is justified in view of his eulogy found in the Khandapada grant of his son Dharmaratha, wherein he is stated to have burnt Āndhra and Gauḍanagari, easily without any opposition. His great descendant Udyota Keśari also describes him as a great hero, who posted pillars of victory in eight directions after defeating the enemies⁸.

Śrī Mahābhavagupta of the Mahakosala Historical Society plates who issued his grant from Keśarakella Mahāvijaya Kaṭaka in his 11th regnal year⁹ may be identified with Naghusa, the younger brother of Mahāśivagupta Dharmaratha, who is stated to have ruled for some years in the Narasimhapur plates of Udyota Keśari i.e.,

“भ्राता तस्य बभूव भूतलपतिभूतिशतुत्पन्नः

प्रस्थातः क्षितिभूयणो ननुप इत्युत्थौ पतीनां पतिः” (V,6)

The same verse is also found in the Ratnagiri plates of Karṇa Deva.¹⁰

This proposed identification seems tenable in view of the fact that Rudra Datta, who is mentioned as his Mahāsāndhivigrahika, continued as such during the reign of his cousin Yayāti II¹¹ and up to the fourth regnal year of Udyota Keśari, son of Yayāti II, when his Narasimhapur plates were issued. Then the total period of reigns of the five Somavamsī kings of the earlier branch as elicited from the epigraphic records discussed above becomes 97 years in all i.e., Janamejaya 1—34 years, Yayāti 1—28 years, Bhimaratha—13 years, Dharmaratha—11 years, Naghusa—11 years. The actual reigning periods of these five kings exceeds a century on calculation of the astronomical data. Consequently it becomes impossible to adjust the reigns of these rulers within a period of 50 years obtained by taking 736 A.D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era. So it must be calculated from 614 A.D. when this Era was started by Paramopāsaka Kshemankara Deva, the first powerful king of the Bhauma family and an ally of Mahārājādhirāja Harshavardhana, the last Buddhist monarch of India.

Mohini Temple

The temple of Mohini standing on the southern bank of Vindusāgara tank of Bhubaneswar and belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara type of temples, was built by *Mohini Devi*, the queen of the Bhauma sovereign Śivakara II¹² to perpetuate her memory like her mother-in-law Mādhavi Devi, queen of Śubhākara I, who built the Mādhaveśvara temple at Virajā after her name.¹³ The temple was called Mohini, after her name though the deity worshipped in the temple is a ten-armed dancing Chāmuṇḍā, terrific to behold. The date of the Chaurasi plate of Śivakara II being 73 years of the Bhaumakara Era, the building of the temple may be fixed near about 614 A.D. + 73 = 687 A.D.

Age of the earlier group of Temples

Taking this definite date as a clue, the temples of Lakshmanēśvara, Bharateśvara, and Śatrughneśvara, which are without the

ante-chamber or Jagamohana, and Tri-ratha in plan like the vimāna of the Mohini temple, can be placed in the early decades of the seventh century. The temples of Mohini, Uttareśvara and Mārkaṇḍeśvara, standing on the southern, northern and western banks of Vindusāgara; Kapālinī and Śīreśvara found within the same compound, and Paraśurāmeśvara and Svarṇajāleśvara, both on the road to Kedara-gaurī may be assigned to different decades of the same century. Thus the conclusion of K. C. Panigrahi¹⁴, who assigned the Paraśurāmeśvara temple to the seventh century on the evidence of palaeography of the inscribed labels above the eight grahas on the lintel of the sanctum-door is fully supported by my calculation.

Most of the temples of the early group have got Triratha Vimāna but all their Jagamohanas are rectangular structures with terraced roofs sloping in two stages. The roofs of the Jagamohanas of Kapālinī, Śīreśvara and Uttareśvara have got no monolithic pillars for their support, whereas those of Mohini, Mārkaṇḍeśvara and Paraśurāmeśvara are set on parallel rows of monolithic pillars.

In this group of temples, we find the depiction of Aṣṭagrahas instead of Navagrahas in the lintels. The Dikpālas are not found on the temple walls. On the top of the temples, there are no kalasas but Śivaliṅgas fixed in the centres of the Āmalakas.

Due to the predominance of the Śākta cult in this century two temples are dedicated for the worship of Chāmūṇḍā. In the sanctum of the Mohini temple is installed a terrific *ten-armed dancing Chāmūṇḍā*, whereas in the central niche of the sanctum of the Kapālinī temple is enshrined an *eight-armed Chāmūṇḍā* called Kapālinī, who is depicted in her most terrific aspect conceivable, surrounded by the images of Sapta-mātṛkās and other tantric deities. The figures of Sapta-mātṛkās without babies are found carved on the northern wall of the Jagamohana of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. Śākta deities are more or less found in the Uttareśvara and other temples of this group.

Gauri Temple

In the family of the Bhauma-karas, two queens namely Tribhuvana Mahādevī I, daughter of Rājamalla, the sovereign of the southern country¹⁵ and Pṛthvī Mahādevī *alias* Tribhuvana Mahādevī II, daughter of Svabhāvatuṅga of the lunar dynasty, the overlord of Kosala¹⁶ proclaimed themselves as *Siddha-Gaurī* in the closing portions of their grants:

“देव्याः श्रीसिद्धगौर्याः प्रभवतु भुवने वासनं तावदेतत्”

The Dhenkanal plates of the first is dated in the year 110 of the Bhauma Samvat which is equal to 724 A.D., whereas the Bauda grant of the second is dated in the year 158 of the Bhauma Era corresponding to 772 A.D.

It may be pointed out here that the identification of Svabhāvatūṅga with Janamejaya I of the Soma dynasty, accepted by some scholars has created anachronism in the history of Orissa. His correct identification should be with *Harṣa Gupta, king of Sripur*, who is eulogised as such in the eighth verse of the Sripur stone inscription of the time of his illustrious son Mahāśivagupta Bālārjuna¹⁷ as quoted below :

“तस्यामूदबनिभृतामषीश्वरस्य
प्रस्थातो जगति सुतो यथा हिमाद्रेः ।
रत्नानां वसतिरस्रिण्डोत्पत्तो
मेनाको गिरिरिव यः स्वभावतुङ्गः” ॥

Svabhāvatūṅga is glorified in the above verse 'as the personification of the great Mainaka hill whereas the expression 'स्वभावतुङ्ग निभः पौरवेण'¹⁸ simply denotes the attribute of a king and not the king himself.

In the Bhauma family there was only one queen, the wife of Śubhākara and mother of queen Daṇḍī Mahādevī who bore the name of Gaurī and ruled powerfully for some years after the death of her husband as stated in the verse quoted below¹⁹:

यः श्रीशुभाकर इति प्रपितो यथार्थम् (V.2)

“तस्य त्रिपिटृपञ्चुपः परमेश्वरस्य
देवो समस्त-जनता-नतपादश्या ।
सिंहासनं शशिकरामलकोत्तिगोरो
गोरोव गोरोवपदं चिरमध्यरोहत् ॥” (V.3)

In the above verse queen Gaurī is proclaimed as the incarnation of Gaurī or Pārvatī, who built the temple of Gaurī at Ekāmra-Kshetra following the noble example set by her predecessors Mādhavi Devī and Mohini Devī. As no copperplate grant of queen Gaurī Devī has come to light the period of her reign may be fixed with the help of the earliest date found in the copperplate grant of her daughter Daṇḍī Mahādevī²⁰ which was 180th year of the Bhauma Samvat or 794 A.D. So the date of the Gaurī temple may be fixed near about 790 A.D.

The exquisitely beautiful temple of Vārāhi in the village Chaurasi in the Prāchī valley, which is definitely a monument of Śivakara II, consists of a vimāna and a Jagamohana, the first being a replica of the sanctum of the Gauri temple and the second resembling that of the famous Paraśurāmeśvara temple in all respects. So there is every justification for taking the temple of Gauri as a monument of the Bhauma period.

Mukteśvara temple

Mukteśvara temple which has got striking affinities with the Gauri temple in respect of decorative details, style of execution and exuberance of ornamentation cannot be far removed from it in date. Great importance is given to the *adoration of the Sapta mātṛkās* and Virabhadra whose figures are displayed with considerable ingenuity and artistic skill in the eight petals of a full-blown lotus placed upside down in the garbha-muda stone of the Jagamohana. This is a clear proof of the Tantric propensity of the builder of the temple, who in all likelihood, belonged to the Soma family and flourished during the early period of their rule over Orissa in the 10th century.

The special features of this temple as noted by K. C. Panigrahi run as follows : "Here we find for the first time a porch which marks the beginning of a piḍha temple, well-shaped pilasters and recesses formed by them, the images carved in *alto-relievo*, Gajasimha and Nāga columns. In the cult images we find here for the first time a mouse used as a mount of Gaṇeśa, a cock associated with Kārtikeya, babies carried in the arms of the Sapta Mātṛkās, Ketu among the planets.²¹ It is to be noted that these architectural and iconographical features are conspicuous by their absence in the earlier group of temples discussed before."

The plan of this temple is a full-fledged pañcharatha, the Pābhāga or lower portion consisting of five mouldings 'Pañcha-kāma' as is commonly found in the later temples²². The "low enclosure wall with off-set projections and sculptural exteriors is a fitting appendage to the temple." This temple has the unique distinction of having a magnificent Torāṇa fronting the entrance through the compound wall. The decoration of the arch with exquisite reclining female figures and bands of delicate scroll-work of masterly execution is a crowning beauty of the monument. On account of its elegant proportions and exquisite and lavish ornamentation, this small temple has been rightly acclaimed as the gem of Orissan architecture.

Yayāti-I was the builder of the Liṅgarāja temple

Yayāti, the traditional builder of the Liṅgarāja temple, is identified by scholars with Yayāti II, the first ruler of the second branch of the Somavamśi kings of Orissa. But this identification is not acceptable as Yayāti II came to power, when the back-bone of the Soma Empire had been broken, due to the crushing defeat and capture of Indraratha in 1023 A.D. by Rājendra Chola, the greatest Chola Emperor. For want of a suitable legal successor, Yayāti II was chosen as the king of the two states of Kosala and Utkala by the vassal chieftains at an advanced age. This is clearly stated in verse 9 of the Narasimhapur plates of his son Udyota Keśari as quoted below :—

“मटेरवष्टम्भमिदं नरेन्द्रैः
राष्ट्रद्वयं कोशलमुत्कलं च ।
मकरट्टकं साधयतः समन्त-
द्भुजद्वयं यस्य कृतार्थमासीत् ॥

This is corroborated by verse 7 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription of the time of Udyota Keśari which states that Chaṇḍi-Hara or Yayāti-II was elected as the ruler of the realm by the ministers:

“श्रीचण्डेहर इत्यमूलरपतिः सर्वैरमात्यैः कृतः”

Yayāti II who had a short reign of about a decade (c. 1025—1035 A.D.) had to fully utilise his time, energy and resources in leading retaliatory expeditions against Rājendra Chola (1012—1044 A.D.), ruler of Kāñchi, Paramāra Bhoja (1010—1042 A.D.) overlord of Lāṭa, Karmāṭa and Gurjjara, and Mahipāla ruler of Gauḍa and Rāḍha as is known from his Maraṅjamurā charter issued in the 3rd year of his reign²³. It is clear from verse 10 of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription that the fight with the rulers of Dāhala, Choḍa and Gauḍa did not end in the reign of Yayāti II but continued up to the reign of his son Udyota Keśari, who was able to vanquish the enemies. So it is purely hypothetical to conclude that he was the builder of the Liṅgarāja temple, which was then the loftiest and most magnificent temple of the land. This conclusion should be discarded as it is not supported by solid facts of contemporary history. On the otherhand, the traditions as recorded in the Mādālā Pāñji²⁴ giving the credit to Yayāti I as starting the construction of the Liṅgarāja temple after the completion of building a small temple for Jagannātha at Puri, should be accepted for the grounds given below :—

Yayāti Keśari

- (a) “श्री पुस्तोतमे सङ्गनाभिमण्डले हा३८५ करि पटोल गोटाए तोलि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेसरङ्कु बिजे कराइले ××× एहि भनुकूले भुवनेसर देउलकु सुभ देले ।”
- (b) 2nd Pāñji—ए उताव राजा देउल गोटाए सुभ कले । ३८ हाव करि देउल गोटाए करि प्रतिष्ठा करि परमेसरङ्कु बिजे कराइले । ××× एहि भनुकूले भुवनेसरङ्कु देउल कौलास घटणा सुभ देले ।”

Sūrya Keśari

1st Pāñji—“ए राजा भुवनेसर देउल तोलाउयिले ।

2nd Pāñji— “ “ “ “ “

Ananta Keśari

1st Pāñji—“ए उताव मनस्त केसरी....ए भुवनेसर देउल तोलाउ यिले”

2nd Pāñji:— the same

Lalāṭa Keśari

1st Pāñji—एविउतारे ससाट केसरी ××× भुवनेसर देउल तिनिपाटरे तोलाइ ए महाराजा प्रतिष्ठा कले ।”

2nd Pāñji—“ए उताव ससाटकेसरी राजा ××
ए राजा भुवनेसर देउल निर्माण कले ।
ए देउल तिनिपाटरे निर्माण हेना ॥
ए राजा देउल प्रतिष्ठा कले ॥

It is clear from the quotations made above that the building of Bhubaneswar (Līngarāja) temple was only started by Yayāti I but could not be finished. This work was continued by his successors Sūrya Keśari and Ananta Keśari and completed by Lalāṭa Keśari, who installed the huge Śiva Līngam inside the sanctum. The authenticity of this traditional account may be examined in the light of facts of contemporary history and close examination of the architecture of the temple.

Yayāti I inherited a strong, well-knit and extensive empire from his powerful father Janamejaya I. His long reign was peaceful as he could successfully check the expansion of the Chedi power in the west by inflicting a crushing defeat on its ruler Yuvarāja, before his 8th regnal year²⁵. So he could utilise the abundant resources of his prosperous state in building the city of Yayātinagara after his name on the bank of the Mahānadī, the Jagannātha temple at Puri, the Daśāśvamedha ghāṭa on the Vaitaraṇī in Virajā Kshetra, and

initiating the construction of the magnificent and lofty Bhubaneswar temple.

The city of Yayātinagara founded by him is proudly mentioned in eight epigraphic records of the Somavamśi period *i.e.*, Yayāti-I-2, Bhīmaratha - I, Dharmaratha - I, Rāṇaka Puñja-I, Indraratha - I, Udyota Keśari - I and Karṇa Deva - I and referred to in twelve inscriptions of the reign of Rājendra Chola issued between the 12th and the 31st years of his reign. Dhoyi, a poet of the court of Lakshmaṇa Sena, king of Bengal gives a beautiful description of this city, where tall Guvāka trees were found entangled by creepers of betel leaves, in his kāvya, 'Pavanadūtam'.²⁶ On the basis of the description given by poet Dhoyi, Yayātinagara can satisfactorily be identified with Chaudvāra, a place of strategic and archaeological importance between the rivers Virūpā and the Mahānadi, which abounded with gardens of betel leaves. Thus Yayāti-I who was a great builder can be credited with the plan of construction of this magnificent structure.

Close examination of the architecture of the Liṅgarāja temple indicates that in the original plan made by Yayāti - I there was provision for building the lofty structure of a Vimāna only. Odd and crude joints existing between the Vimāna and the Jagamohana prove that the latter was a later addition. This is corroborated by the convincing remarks of R. D. Banerjee, who was placed in charge of its conservation

"The vimāna of the Krittivāsa possesses a single opening on the east. During the repairs it was discovered that the stone door-frame from which the wooden gates are hung, conceals behind it two different stone door-frames, the sizes of which do not correspond. The stone lintel of the front door-frame is much lower than that of the rear one, proving these by that the vimāna and the Jagamohana were not built at the same time".²⁷

The close resemblance between the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja and Brahmeśvara temples was possible as the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple was built by Udyota Kesari, whose mother Kolāvati had erected the Brahmeśvara temple during his reign.

On the basis of the discussion made above, the vimāna of Liṅgarāja, the building of which was started by Yayāti - I and completed by his two successors may be assigned to the 10th century, whereas the Jagamohana, a work of Udyota Keśari, famous as Lalāṭendu Keśari is a work of the mid-eleventh century.

Nāṭamandira

There being no direct epigraphic evidence regarding the date of the Nāṭamandira, it may tentatively be assigned to the reign of Anaṅgabhīma III (1211—1239 A.D.) as all the five inscriptions of his reign written on chlorite slabs are found fixed on the western entrance of the Nāṭamandira leading to the Jagamohana. The earliest of the inscriptions being²⁸ dated in Śaka year 1140 or 1218 A.D. it may be assigned to the period 1211—1218 A.D.

Bhogamaṇḍapa

The necessity of building the Bhogamaṇḍapa arose for providing sufficient space for keeping the earthen pots of cooked food, other offerings of sweets and fruits, before the deity at a respectable distance.

From a mutilated inscription of the time of Bhīma Deva (Anaṅgabhīma III) it is known that a certain person (name lost) granted three vāṭis of land for providing offering of food to God Kṛivāsa (Liṅgarāja) from the produce of the gifted land “भूमिवाटिका × × × वामुदेवाय नैवेद्य”. This endowment was made when Pāṭhi Mahādeva, Paṇḍita Purushottama, Govinda Karaṇa and Śiunātha (Śivanātha) Karaṇa were managing the affairs of the temple²⁹.

Another inscription of the 34th Aṅka (1238—1239 A.D.) of the same king records the deposit of some gold coins (?) in the treasury of Lord Liṅgarāja, the interest of which was to be spent for offering small earthen pots of cooked food daily before the deity: “मनुदिने दशप्रस्तपरिमितो घोटनपटिका (पाटिका) प्रदत्ता”³⁰

The use of the word *Apikā* is significant as it supplies evidence regarding the introduction of Mahāprasāda. Another inscription of 1257 A.D. records the endowment of *Nirmālya* (mahāprasāda) prepared from rice measuring ten māṇas³¹: “निर्माल्यद्वयमाणुखलाम्नेन”

This endowment was made by Bhāva Sadāśiva the guru of Narasimha I (1238—1264 A.D.). The term *Nirmālya* is significant.

On the basis of evidence furnished by the above three records, the building of the Bhogamaṇḍapa may be placed in the *middle of the 13th century*.

Rājārāṇi (Indreśvara temple)

The date of the famous Rājārāṇi (Indreśvara) temple of Bhubaneswar can now be fixed with certainty after the publication of the Banapur copperplate grant of Indraratha, both in Oriya and English by K. B. Tripathi³².

From this, it is known that Indraratha was the eldest son of Bhīmaratha a very powerful ruler through his second wife named Durgā. Being a favourite of Dharmaratha, he was appointed as the governor of Kalinga and Oḍra. He forcibly occupied the throne of Yayātinagara, perhaps after driving Naghusa and killing Abhimanyu, the grand son of Janamejaya I, who claimed the throne of the state. He was a very powerful ruler and repulsed the attack of Paramāra Bhoja. But he was totally defeated and captured in a battle fought near Yayātinagara in 1023 A.D. About this K. A. Nilakantha Sastri writes thus :

"After having captured Indraratha of the ancient race of the moon together with his family in a fight which took place at Adinagara (Yayātinagara) whose great fame knew no decline"²².

As he was an usurper, he has not used the title of Mahabhavagupta or Mahāśivagupta borne by the rulers of the Soma family. His name is not mentioned in the genealogy given in the Narasimhapur grant and Brahmeśvara temple inscription of Udyota Keśari and the Ratnagiri copperplates of King Karṇa Deva.

His Banapur grant was issued on Kārtika Śukla Dvitiyā of his sixth regnal year which corresponds to 25th October, 1006 A. D. on the day of Kanyā Saṁkrānti. So his reign started from 1000 A. D. and ended in 1023 A.D.

With this reliable epigraphic evidence at our disposal the excellent Śaiva shrine of Indreśvara built to perpetuate the memory of Indraratha, can be placed between 1000 A.D. and 1023 A.D. This was not a Vaiṣṇava temple as wrongly noted by M. M. Ganguli²³ and R. P. Chanda²⁴.

Kedāreśvara temple

The time of Kedāreśvara temple can be fixed on the basis of information furnished by two inscriptions of the time of Choḍagaṅga Deva incised on the right wall of the entrance of the Jagamohana. Of these two the first one records the provision of 'Akhaṇḍa dipa' in the temple of 'Bhagavān Kedāreśvara' the lord of the three worlds (त्रिभुवनविभवे), by Śrī Pramāḍi Deva, younger brother of Śrī Choḍagaṅga Deva in the Śaka year 1064 or 1142 A.D. while the second issued by Choḍagaṅga, son of Pramāḍi Deva in the Śaka year 1067 or 1145 A.D. informs about the provision of Akaṇḍadipa before the same deity²⁵. The high respect shown to the deity is a proof of its being famous before the days of Cholaṅga. So it can definitely be assigned to the eleventh century and accepted as a Somavamśi monument.

Siddheśvara temple :

The entire area round the Siddheśvara temple has been eulogised as 'Siddhāśrama' a hermitage of recluses in 'Kapila Saṃhitā', 'Svarṇādri Mahodaya' and 'Ekāmra Chandrikā'³⁶. By the time of issue of the Brahmeśvara temple inscription by Udyota Keśari, Ekāmra or this area has been proclaimed as a Siddha Tīrtha (एकाम्रे सिद्धतीर्थे षडुरवरकुली × × ×) (V. 12) a holy place inhabited by recluses. Siddheśvara, being the presiding deity of this area, might be taken as existing before the Brahmeśvara temple. This view is supported by the architecture of this temple as noted by Mrs. Debala Mitra,— "The arrangement of the piṭhas, like that of Mukteśvara is continuous, without any recess, and the crowning element consists of only a Kalasa without the usual components of the full-fledged Jagamohana"³⁷. So this may be taken as a monument of the Somavaṃśī period.

Brahmeśvara temple :

Among the monuments of the pre-Gaṅga period only the temple of Brahmeśvara contained a record indicating the date of its construction as "श्रीमदुद्योतकेशरीराजदेवस्य विजयराज्ये सम्वत् १८ फाल्गुन शुदि ३" which, calculated astronomically, corresponds to 24th February, 1053 A.D. Wednesday; the Mīna Saṃkrānti having fallen on 22-2-1053 the day of Phālguna Amāvāsyā³⁸. 1053 A.D. being current in the 18th year of Udyota Keśari's reign, it began from 1053—18=1035 A.D. This is supported by the dates of his Narasimhapur copperplate grant issued on 'माने षदि दशम्या' of his 4th regnal year. It is definitely known that Vṛschika Saṃkrānti fell on 26-10-1038 which was *Mārgaśīra Kṛṣṇa, Daśami Guruvāra*.³⁹ So his reign started from 1035 A.D.

Another important thing which deserves consideration here is that the Brahmeśvara temple is described as— "षडुरवरकुली नाट्यशालासमेतः" (V. 12) or having four temples at four corners and a nāṭyaśālā or antechamber for dancing, popularly called Jagamohana in later ages.

Such 'Panchāyatana' or group of five temples is found at Kuālo (ancient Kodālaka), the capital of the Śūlkis, now situated in the Parjang block of the Dhenkanal district not far from the Brāhmaṇī river. The Kanakeśvara temple which was originally about 80 feet high stands in the centre with four small temples at four corners, all of which are now in a dilapidated state. These temples were built by Kula Stambha Deva Vikramāditya, *i.e.*,⁴⁰

“स्तम्भेश्वरोत्तमप्रसादः
 शुल्कीकुसेऽनूय क्षितिपः सत्तारिः ।
 धोमान् कुतस्तम्भ इति प्रतीतः
 स्फुरत्-प्रतापोदय-तापितारिः

× × ×

मास्वत्-विचित्र-रुचिरोज्ज्वल-च-सुहोमैः
 उच्यैः सदासिद्धपुर प्रसमैकमागै-
 देवाभयैर्निजयशोघवसैरनैकै
 मेनात्मनस्त्रिदिग् तुङ्गमिश्रोऽकोत्स्यैः”

The date of the copperplate grant of his son Śrī Raṇa Stambha¹¹ being 103 of the Bhauma Era or 717 A.D. these Pañchāyatana temples may be placed near about 700 A.D. Thus they are earlier than the Brahmeśvara group by more than three and a half centuries.

Megheśvara temple

The Megheśvara temple inscription¹², the slab containing which is now wrongly fixed on the western compound wall of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple, states that, this temple was built by Svapneśvara Deva, brother-in-law of Rājarāja Deva II (1170—1190 A.D) during the reign of his younger brother Antyanka Bhīma II (1190—1198 A.D.). The vimāna or sanctum has developed into a sapta-ratha temple, whereas its Jagamohana now bereft of its crowning members, resembles that of Rājarāṇī, both having Nāga columns on both sides of the entrance. In the temple we find only the Dikpālas and not their Śaktis which proves that the Śaktis of the Dikpālas were not depicted on the body of the temples at least up to the end of the twelfth century.

Bhāskareśvara temple

The temple of Bhāskareśvara stood in a predominantly Buddhist area, which is proved by the discovery underground of the headless image of Lokeśvara (now preserved in the Orissa State Museum) near the road leading from it to the Brahmeśvara temple. This image must have been enshrined in a Buddhist temple which has now gone out of existence. The Buddhist association of the Liṅga of Bhāskareśvara with an unusual height of 9 ft. from the floor level, which was originally a free-standing pillar is proved by the discovery of not only a deliberately broken and mutilated lion capital but also of four fragments of railing posts resembling similar ones, fencing the stūpas at Barhut and Sanchi. Of these four, three are preserved in the

Asutosh Museum, Calcutta, while one is exhibited in the Orissa State Museum along with the mutilated lion bearing a short inscription of the fifth century.

As an analogy it may be pointed out here that at the time of renovation of the dilapidated Dhavaleśvara temple on the peak of the Dhauli hill assigned to the sixth century by J. D. Beglar⁴³, the slender Liṅga enshrined in it was found to be 14 feet high with a circumference of nearly 5 feet, the thickness being disproportionate with its height. This must have been originally a column of the ancient Buddhist stūpa, the existence of which nearby, was proved by the scattered bricks and brick-bats of the original structure. The fall of these two earliest Buddhist stūpas near Bhāskareśvara temple and on the Dhauli hill, was caused by the militant Pāsupatas, who were inimical to Buddhism when they came to prominence in the royal courts during the sixth century.

During the period of Bhauma-kara rule over Orissa (c. 684—850 A.D.), there was revival of Mahāyāna Buddhism and its branch Vajrayāna cult, as the first powerful rulers of this family were devout Buddhists.

The Somavaṃśī rulers followed a policy of reconciliation towards Buddhism, which is proved by the re-installation of Buddhist Jagannātha as Purushottama in a new temple built by Yayāti I, grant of land made by Indraratha for the female Buddhist deity called *Khadiravaṇī Bhagīrikā*, gift of village for Rāṇī Karpūra Śrī hailing from Śolanapura Mahāvihāra of Utkaladeśa. The slow process of assimilation of Buddhism into the fold of Hinduism resulted in its founder Gautama Buddha as being accepted as the 9th incarnation of Viṣṇu. The temple of Bhāskareśvara, which symbolises this process of transforming a portion of an ancient Buddhist pillar into one of the famous Aṣṭa Śambhus may be assigned tentatively to the eleventh century.

Temples of the early Gaṅga period

Establishment of śāsanas and building of Śiva temples were started in full swing from the reign of Choḍagaṅga Deva called Gaṅgeśvara Deva towards the close of his reign, with a view to eclipsing the fading glory and greatness of ancient Buddhist sites and monuments, which continued for at least two centuries.

The temple of Rāmeśvara, without any Jagamohana was built on an elevated ground containing the remains of an old Buddhist monument. The tall temple of Alābukeśvara was erected in an area

full of Buddhist caves, the chief of which is known as Pañcha-Pāṇḍava Gumphā. His queen Lakshmi Devi built the temple *Chintāmaṇīśvara* near the extensive tank of Lakshmiśāgara excavated in the village of Lakshmiśāgara Pāṇḍā founded by her. The beautiful temple of *Gaṅgeśvara* bearing his name still stands near the tank Devipādaharā in a good state of preservation.

From a fragmentary inscription on the back of broken Pārvati image in 17 lines found in the heart of Śiśupālagada it is known that Gaṅgeśvara built a lofty temple as high as the Himalayas extract from which is quoted below⁴³ :

तस्माद् बभूव भुवनत्रितयप्रसिद्ध

गङ्गेश्वरः महत् सुम्भरमुदयाहुः ॥

× × ×

प्राक्षेयाचलपद्मकृतिश्च विदितप्रासादराजस्फुरत् ॥

This great Śiva temple of Śiśupālagada was perhaps razed to the ground at the time of destruction of this fort by Mohummad Taqui Khan, Subadar of Cuttack in 1734.

Gaṅgeśvara paid special attention to founding Śāsanas and building Śiva temples round about Dhauli or ancient Tosali. So Śāsanas named Śrīyādeipura (present Sardeipura), Kalyāṇapura, Kauśalyāpura, Gaṅgeśvarapura, were founded by his queens Śrīyā Dei, Kalyāṇa Devi, Kośala Devi, and himself respectively. Near the extensive tank called Kauśalyā-Gaṅga, bearing the joint names of Kauśalyā Devi and Gaṅgeśvara Deva, were established two śāsanas named Pūrvā and Uttarā. The temple of *Bahirāṅgeśvara*, erected on the western promontory of the Dhauli hill and marking the southern limit of the sacred Ekāmra Kshetra, along with the temple of *Gaṇeśa* and the temple of *Sankeśvara* standing by the road leading to the Bahirāṅgeśvara temple may be assigned to this period. The Gaṇeśa is now installed in a new temple, whereas the other two temples have been reconstructed.

The temple of *Kuṇḍaleśvara* of Śrī Rāmapura Śāsana at a short distance from the famous circular enclosure containing the sixty-four Yoginis of Hirāpura⁴⁴ belonged to this period as it finds mention in the Alarpur copperplate grant of Narasimha II. It marked the eastern limit of Ekāmra Kshetra. दक्षिणसीमाश्रीरामपुरशासनीयकुण्डलेश्वर-देवस्य इत्येतादृशं पश्यंभूतेन⁴⁵

Temples of the thirteenth century

The assumption made by my guru late P. Acharya that the Śaktis (female energies) of the eight Dikpālas were depicted for the

first time in the Ananta Vāsudeva temple of Bhubaneswar and the temples called Sūri, Chitrakāriṇī, Yameśvara, Mitreśvara and Varuṇeśvara containing such śaktis are later than the A. V. temple⁴⁸ is wrong, because Dikpālas and their Śaktis are prominently displayed in the Chāṭeśvara temple of Kṛṣṇapura. This temple can be definitely placed, on the basis of an inscription found in it, to the second decade of the 12th century, when Anaṅgabhima III was ruling over Orissa⁴⁹. With this reliable evidence at our disposal, the broken temples of *Mitreśvara* and *Varuṇeśvara* standing side by side within an enclosure to the north of the Pāpanāśini tank and *Sūri Deula* may be placed in the first quarter of the 13th century.

The *Chitrakāriṇī* temple standing on the right of the main road is of the *pañchāyatana* type having four subsidiary shrines at the four corners, the whole group being enclosed by a compound wall. Within the sanctum is worshipped a Chāmuṇḍā image. The frieze on the lintel of the southern window of the Jagamohana depicts the marriage of Śiva and Pārvatī, while that on the lintel of the northern window shows Kṛṣṇa playing on his flute amidst his enchanted followers and cattle listening with rapt attention. In consideration of the existence of this presiding deity and the above two friezes this temple may be assigned to the reign of Narasiṃha I who had equal respects for Durgā, Puruṣottama and Śiva. In his Kapilāsa temple inscription of 1246 A.D.⁵⁰ he proclaimed himself as “परममाहेश्वरः श्रीदुर्गापुत्रः श्रीपुरुषोत्तमपुत्रः.” An inscription of his second śrāhi (1238-39 A.D.) found on the door jamb of the Dvāravāsini temple⁵¹ on the eastern bank of Vindusarovara begins thus “श्रीनरसिंहदेवस्य सुभटस्य दुर्गापुत्रस्य आहि”. Mahiṣamārgini Durgā installed in this piṭha temple built of laterite stone is called Dvāravāsini. Thus the temple may be dated near about 1240 A.D.

Yameśvara temple :

The fairly large-sized temple of Yameśvara having a vimāna and a Jagamohana and standing within a spacious compound to the south of Bhārati Maṭha, is an important ancient monument of Bhubaneswar. It stands on a high plinth like the Ananta Vāsudeva temple which it resembles in respect of structural features, richness and affluence of decorations. Its general plan seemed to have followed that of the great temple of Konārka, where the Aruṇa Stambha stood in the intervening space between the Jagamohana and the Nāṭamandira.⁵² Here we find the stump of Vṛsha Stambha in between the flight of steps leading to the Jagamohana and the pillared nāṭa-mandira of which nothing now remains except the plinth. In consideration of the points stated above, it may be taken as a work

of Vīra Narasimha Deva I, built under the influence of his guru Bhāva Sadāśiva, who is stated in his two Līngarāja temple inscriptions²² as a great Śaiva teacher living on charity, granting land for the study of Vyākaraṇa, making provision for Śiva Nirmālya, performance of yajña and associated with a Maṭha.

- (a) “गौरीपुत्र चरणान्तःकरण-सारासार-तंसार-निरास-निदानतपसा भावसहाय-
गुरुणा शिक्षाजितघनेन × × व्याकरणपाठाय दत्तः इति ।”
- (b) “निर्मल्य दशमाणतस्तदुत्तान्नेन × × × मठं कृत्वा
× × दशप्रस्थ दक्षिणाः दत्ता यज्ञ....मठ” ।

Though the second record is mutilated निर्मल्य, यज्ञ and मठ are clear.

From the story of the Yameśvara temple as narrated in the Ekāmra Purāṇa it is known that this temple was built by Yama who also performed a sacrifice and made gift of a wealthy maṭha enclosed within a compound wall to a Kāpālikayati or Pāśupata Achārya who stayed here as its head, i.e.,

“सह तत्र महात्मासौ चक्रे यज्ञं शिवाय च

कापालिकाय यतये सर्वभूतहिताय च
दरिद्राय विन्नीताय शोकाचारपराय च ॥
तपोनिष्ठाय निष्ठाय दश्व वै मठमुत्तमं
घनधान्यसमायुक्तं शिष्याकारवेष्टितं ॥

इत्थं पाशुपताचार्यो दिव्यं मठवरं शिवे

कापालिकयतिरसौ श्रीयमेश्वरसन्निधौ
यमदत्ते मठवरे तस्यौ चर्मपरायणः”

The description of the Yati given in the Purāṇa is fully applicable to Bhāva Sadāśiva given in his records. So this temple may be taken as a monument built under the influence of this great Śaiva Achārya towards the close of the reign of Narasimha I and the maṭha-vara of the Purāṇa can satisfactorily be identified with the present Bhārati Maṭha called बड़मठ by the people.

Vakeśvara temple

The Vakeśvara temple standing to the north of Yameśvara temple consists of a vimāna and a Jagamohana, which is in a completely

dilapidated state. "It is important however in having a *Navaratha* plan, which is a further advance on the *sapta-ratha* plan of the monuments of this epoch".⁵⁴ The elaboration of the ground plan indicates its construction at a later date than the Yameśvara temple and as such it may be assigned to the closing years of the 13th century.

Dākrā Bhīmeśvara temple

The Dākrā Bhīmeśvara temple also known as Vibhishaneśvara temple stands within a compound wall at a short distance of the eastern gate of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple to the south of the Puri road. This temple built on a ruined piṭha originally consisted of a Vimāna and a Jagamohana, of which the former was in an extremely dilapidated condition, whereas its Jagamohana had totally gone out of existence at the time of its renovation by the N.A.C. of Bhubaneswar in 1970-71 under my supervision. As indicated by the name of this monument it may be taken as a work of Anaṅga Bhīma Deva III (1211—1238 A.D.) who is also called Raut Bhīma Deva in his two out of five epigraphic records in the Liṅgarāja temple.

(a) राजत भोमदेवान्दे of the 23rd Aṅka or 1230 A.D.

(b) " " (date damaged).

Dakṣiṇa Chandi temple

The small piṭha temple built of laterite stones enshrining the image of Mahisha Mardini Durgā called Dakṣiṇa Chandi, is situated to the south of the ruins of the royal castle, which stood near the southern gate of the compound of the Liṅgarāja temple. It has got historical importance as Durgā became the presiding deity of the castle called '*Kṛttivāsakaṭaka*' in two Liṅgarāja temple inscriptions.⁵⁷

(1) 4th Aṅka of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva—1437 A.D.

‘कृतिवास कटके निरर पूजा अवकासे’

(2) 19th Aṅka of Gajapati Purushottama Deva (1481 A.D.)

‘कृतिवास कटके पूजा अवकासे’

Thus it is proved that this Kaṭaka as well as its presiding deity was existing long before Kapileśvara Deva and as such may be assigned to the Gaṅga period.

Other important temples within the compound of Liṅgarāja :

Pārvati temple :

Of the minor temples within the compound of Liṅgarāja, the temple of Pārvati is a fine architectural piece, remarkable for the exuberance of its carvings. The temple structurally and stylistically

is definitely later than the Liṅgarāja⁵⁸. K. C. Panigrahi has taken it as a near contemporary of Ananta Vāsudeva⁵⁹. But the discovery of a short inscription in 2 lines engraved on the plinth near the south door of the Jagamohana of the temple in the 13th śrāhi of Bhānu Deva I⁶⁰ corresponding to 1274 A.D. proves its existence before the temple of Ananta Vāsudeva, which was built in 1278 A.D. This inscription does not tell anything about the date of the temple, but records the offering of cakes in two earthen pots (भाटिका) by one Bhīma Bāhika, when the temple was in charge of (प्रविकार) of one Yaśodhara Mahārāja. The offering of 'Āṭikā' is a sure proof of established reputation of the deity Umā Devi before this date.

It may be presumed, though it is difficult to prove that the necessity of building a temple for Umā or Pārvati arose when the temple of Lakshmi had been constructed near the Jagannātha temple by Cholaṅga Deva, because the early Gaṅga rulers were trying to give equal status to the temple of Liṅgarāja with that of Lord Jagannātha at Puri. So this temple may be placed in the second half of the twelfth century.

The temple of *Gopālīnī* or *Bhuvaneśvarī* to the north of the Jagamohana of Liṅgarāja and the temple of Sāvitrī in the south-west corner of the vimāna of Liṅgarāja, which belong to the Gaurīchāra type may be placed during the Somavaṃśī period. Gopālīnī or Bhuvaneśvarī, the killer of the demons Kīrti and Vāsa, being the harbinger of the greatness and sanctity of this place according to all Purāṇic accounts may be taken as a contemporary of Liṅgarāja.

The temple of Siddha Lambodara

In order of precedence of visting the deities within the precincts of the Liṅgarāja temple, the name of Gaṇeśa worshipped in a temple to the right of the flight of steps comes first. In the historic inscription of the fourth year of Narasiṃha I (1240 A.D.) Siddha Lambodara is given equal importance with Śrī Kīrtivāsa (Liṅgarāja)

‘श्रीमन्मन्त्रः सानन्दबुन्दारकबुन्दवन्दितपादारविन्दस्य
श्री कीर्तिवासस्य सिद्धलम्बोदरस्य’

Thus it was definitely earlier than 1240 A. D. There is an inscription in Telugu characters on the eastern wall of the sanctum belonging to the time of Cholaṅga. But it is not deciphered. Until the contrary is proved it may be taken as a pre-Gaṅga monument.

Anantēśvara temple

After the establishment of the Gaṅga rule over Orissa, Vaiṣṇavism gradually rose into prominence as a result of which

temples were erected within the enclosure of Liṅgarāja for worship of different Vaiṣṇava deities. In a small shrine made of laterite stones situated to the south of Liṅgarāja, are enshrined three chlorite images of Balarāma, Subhadrā and Kṛṣṇa, for which it is called Ananteśvara temple. The deities were installed in this enclosure during the reign of Anaṅgabhima Deva, who dedicated the whole empire at the feet of Purushottama for which it was called 'Purushottama Sāmrājya' in his Liṅgarāja temple inscription and ruled over it as his राजा or representative.⁶²

Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa and Lakshmi Nṛsiṃha temples

According to tradition the beautiful deity of Lakshmi Nārāyaṇa was kept hidden in the northern entrance of the Bhogamaṇḍapa on the eve of attack on the temple by Kalāpāhāda in 1568 A.D. In the pedestal there is engraved a small inscription in which the name of Narasiṃha is visible, who may be identified with Narasiṃha I, who calls himself 'पुरुषोत्तमपुत्र'.

The small temple of Lakshmi Nṛsiṃha situated to the south of Bhogamaṇḍapa within an enclosure may be assigned to the 13th century.

The image of four-armed Nārāyaṇa popularly called Mādhava holding chakra in his upper right hand and Śaṅkha in his upper left hand is found installed in a small shrine to the east of the Pārvati temple which may be assigned to the early years of the Gaṅga rule.

Ananta Vāsudeva temple

The supremacy of Vaiṣṇavism in this greatest centre of Śaivism in Orissa was fully established after the building of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple by Chandrikā Devī, the daughter of Anaṅgabhima III and sister of Narasiṃha I in 1278 A.D. after which Vāsudeva became the guardian of this sacred place and his representative image (विजय प्रतिमा) was worshipped along with that of Liṅgarāja in all important festivals like Rathayātrā, Chandana-yātrā, Dolayātrā, etc.

Kapileśvara temple

The last great monument of this place is the temple of Kapileśvara situated within a spacious compound on the southern border of the sacred Kshetra. It was founded by the most powerful Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva whose coronation according to Mādalāpāñji, was celebrated at Kṛttivāsa Kaṭaka on the 2nd day

of Kakaḍā, Śukla Chauthī, Budhavāra, which astronomically corresponds exactly to 29th June, 1435⁶³ from which date an era called 'Kapilābda' is still calculated in Orissa. To perpetuate the memory of his coronation he founded the villages of Kapileśvara and Kapilaprasāda, and built a Śiva temple after his name which is the second important temple of this place.

The association of Kapileśvara Deva with this place is proved by the existence of a short epigraph⁶⁴ engraved in a chlorite slab containing a panel of elephant riders, which is fixed in the southern wall of the porch of Kapāli Maṭha situated to the east of Pāpanāśini tank. It mentions the name of one Raṇa Śūra Mahāsenāpati, the Commander-in-chief of Śrī Kapileśvara Deva.

The second inscription which is historically very important was engraved on a chlorite slab fixed near the eastern entrance of the Jagamohana of the Liṅgarāja temple⁶⁵. Its date is 4th Aṅka, Mithuna Saṅkrānti, Kṛṣṇa, Maṅgalavāra which corresponds to 28th, May, 1427 A.D. the day of Rājā Saṅkrānti, Jyēṣṭha, Kṛṣṇa Navamī, Maṅgalavāra.⁶⁶ So the building of this temple may be fixed about this date when the king was encamping at Bhubaneswar.

With the death of Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva closed the long glorious period of temple-building at Bhubaneswar, which continued for about one thousand years since the days of the Śailodbhava rulers.

Synopsis

On the basis of calculation of 614 A.D. as the initial year of the Bhauma Era by me, the date of the Mohini temple belonging to the Paraśurāmeśvara type of temples has been fixed near about 687 A.D. whereas other temples of this group may be assigned to different decades of the 7th century. Gauri temple, a work of the Bhauma queen Gauri Mahādevī is dated near about 790 A.D. whereas Mukteśvara has been assigned to the 9th century.

Yayāti I is shown as the builder of the Vimāna of the Liṅgarāja temple, while its Jagamohana was a work of Udyota Keśari, famous in Orissan tradition as Lalāṭendu Keśari. The Nāṭamandira and Bhogamaṇḍapa have been assigned to the 2nd decade and middle of the 13th century. The date of Indreśvara (Rājarāṇi) was definitely between 1006 and 1023 A.D. as it was built by Indraratha. Kedāreśvara is a pre-Gaṅga monument; the date of Brahmeśvara has been calculated as 1053 A.D. and that of Megheśvara between 1190 and 1198 A.D. Bhāskareśvara is assigned to the eleventh century.

The temples of Rāmeśvara, Alābukeśvara, Gaṅgeśvara Chintāmaṇīśvara, a Śiva temple in Śiśupālagada (now gone) Bahiraṅgeśvara, Gaṇeśa, Kuṇḍaleśvara are assigned to the twelfth century.

The temples of Mitreśvara, Varuṇeśvara, Sāri Deul, Chitrakāriṇī, Yameśvara, Vakeśvara, Dākṛā Bhīmeśvara, Dakṣiṇa Chaṇḍī were built in different decades of the thirteenth century.

Pārvatī temple, which was built in imitation of the Lakshmi temple in the compound of Lord Jagannātha at Puri is placed in the second half of the 12th century. The temples of Gopālīnī, (Bhuvaneśvarī), Sāvitrī, Siddha Lambodara, are shown as pre-Gaṅga monuments.

The temples of Ananteśvara, Lakshmi Nṛsiṃha, Lakshmi-Nārāyaṇa, Nārāyaṇa (Mādhava) may be assigned to the first half of the 13th century, when Vaiṣṇavism was established in the compound of Liṅgarāja, who had presided over the destiny of Śaivism in Orissa for 3 centuries. With the building of the Ananta Vāsudeva temple in 1278 A.D. control of Vaiṣṇavism over Ekāmra Kṣetra was complete as Vāsudeva became the guardian of this place since then.

The temple of Kapileśvara was built by Gajapati Kapileśvara Deva, the founder of Sūryavaṃśī rule over Orissa in commemoration of his coronation at this place in 1435 A.D. With his death ended the glorious period of temple building at Bhubaneswar which had continued for about a thousand years. * * *

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